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Message Text

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ORIGIN PA-02

INFO OCT-01 PRS-01 ISO-00 CCO-00 SSO-00 SS-15 /019 R

DRAFTED BY PA/M:REBUTLER:RE0
APPROVED BY PA:WJDYESS
S/S - MR. GAMBLE
DESIRED DISTRIBUTION
PA, S/S, S/PRS
----------102304Z 124185 /13
O 102218Z MAY 77 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

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FOR CARTER FROM PA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HEREWITH FULL TEXT OSWALD JOHNSTON BYLINER LOS ANGELES TIMES MAY 9 HEADED "U.S. DISCARDS COLD WAR IDEA IN NEW AFRICA POLICY."

2. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION IS DEVELOPING A NEW AFRICAN POLICY BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT AFRICANS ARE CONCERNED MORE WITH RACISM THAN COMMUNISM.

3. AS LONG AGO AS JANUARY, 1976, THERE WAS A HINT OF WHAT MIGHT BE IN STORE.

4. FIFTEEN THOUSAND CUBAN TROOPS FINANCED BY MOSCOW WERE SWEEPING THROUGH ANGOLA, INSTALLING A REGIME
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FRIENDLY TO THE SOVIET UNION, AND AFRICA WAS BECOMING A MAJOR ISSUE IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY.

5. SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER, STILL SMARTING FROM A SENATE MOVE THAT CUT OFF U.S. HELP FOR PRO-WESTERN FORCES IN ANGOLA, WAS MEETING WITH A SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE -- AND BLAMING THE SENATORS FOR THE SOVIET

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SUCCESS.

6. THE ACTION IN ANGOLA WAS "THE FIRST TIME SINCE WORLD WAR II THAT THE SOVIETS HAD MOVED MILITARILY AT LONG DISTANCES TO IHPOSE A REGIME OF THEIR CHOICE," KISSINGER WARNED. THE BACKWATER OF BLACK AFRICA, AS THE SECRETARY SAW IT, HAD BECOME AN ARENA FOR THE SUPER-POWER RIVALRY ONCE KNOWN AS THE COLD WAR, LATER AS DETENTE.

7. KISSINGER'S SESSION WITH THE SENATORS WAS CONTEN-TIOUS, AT TIMES ACRIMONIOUS, AND WHEN HE DEPARTED, THE REPORTERS LEFT TOO. THE TESTIMONY OF THE NEXT WITNESS, GEORGIA CONGRESSMAN ANDREW YOUNG, WAS NOT INCLUDED IN THE NEXT DAY'S NEWS REPORTS.

8. BUT WHAT YOUNG SAID WAS PROPHETIC. HE BEGAN:

9. "WHAT I THINK WE HAVE HEARD IS A VIEW OF AFRICA THROUGH THE EYES OF A EUROPEAN COLD WAR MAN. AND I DO NOT THINK THAT THAT IS WHAT I SEE IN AFRICA THROUGH MY AFRO-AMERICAN EYES."

10. TODAY, 15 MONTHS LATER, KISSINGER'S FOREIGN POLICY IS DISCREDITED WITHIN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, AND YOUNG, FROM HIS PULPIT AS AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS, HIS VOICE AMPLIFIED BY ACCESS TO THE OVAL OFFICE, HAS BECOME A MAJOR INFLUENCE ON AFRICA POLICY.

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11. "YOUNG'S VIEW IS PREVAILING," A WELL-PLACED OFFI-CIAL SAID RECENTLY.

12. IN THE FIELD OF AFRICA POLICY, THE VIEW IS THAT THE COLD WAR HAS NO PLACE IN CARTER ADMINISTRATION DELIBERA-TIONS ON WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE RACIAL CONFLICT IN SOUTH-ERN AFRICA.

13. IN PART, THE NEW POLICY REPEATS A REFRAIN OF THE KISSINGER ERA: AFRICAN PROBLEMS SHOULD BE SOLVED BY AFRICANS, NOT BY OUTSIDERS.

14. BUT THE NEW POLICY PUTS A HEAVY EMPHASIS ON RHE-TORICAL ACTIVISM -- WITH YOUNG IN THE LEAD -- IN FAVOR OF BLACK-MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, IN NAMIBIA (SOUTH-WEST AFRICA) AND IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF.

15. IN SHARP CONTRAST TO KISSINGER'S VIEW THAT U.S. POLICY SHOULD BE AIMED DELIBERATELY AT HEADING OFF

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"RADICAL" OR PRO-SOVIET ELEMENTS AMONG BLACK NATIONALISTS, THE NEW POLICY IN ITS PUREST FORM IS PRESENTED

AS A MORAL IMPERATIVE, IRRESPECTIVE OF THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES FOR THE UNITED STATES.

16. IT IS YOUNG'S VIEW THAT AFRICANS ARE MORE CONCERNED WITH RACISM THAN COMMUNISM, AND IT IS AN OPINION THAT HE HELD AND EXPRESSED WHILE THE KISSINGER POLICY WAS STILL IN FORCE. THAT VIEW, THOUGH STILL DISPUTED WITHIN THE FOREIGN POLICY ESTABLISHMENT, IS GRADUALLY COMING TO BE THE NEW ORTHODOXY IN THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION.

17. THIS EVOLUTION IN THE AMERICAN APPROACH TO BLACK AFRICA IS OCCURRING AT A TIME WHEN THE SOVIET DRIVE TO EXERT INFLUENCE THERE IS ACCELERATING.
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18. THE CUBANS REMAIN DOMINANT IN ANGOLA AFTER MORE THAN A YEAR, AND THE WHOLE CONTINENT SOUTH OF THE SAHARA WAS TREATED IN MARCH AND APRIL OF THE SPECTACLE OF FIDEL CASTRO AND SOVIET PRESIDENT NIKOLAI V. PODGORNY IN A PATTERN OF VISITS THAT SEEMED TOO CONTRIVED TO BE COORDINATED.

19. THE RESULT IS A LIVELY DEBATE HERE ON AFRICA POLICY. THE OUTCOME IS NOT SET, BUT UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF YOUNG AND NEW MEN LIKE THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S ANTHONY LAKE, THE CONCLUSION APPEARS PREDICTABLE.

20. SOME VETERANS OF THE KISSINGER DAYS ARE STILL IN POSITIONS OF INFLUENCE IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S AFRICA BUREAU BUT ARE REPORTEDLY ON THE WAY OUT. THERE IS STILL RESISTANCE TO THE NEW APPROACH IN THE PENTAGON AND IN THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.

21. "THEY DON'T THINK IN GEOPOLITICAL TERMS AT STATE" ONE DISSENTING OFFICIAL REMARKED RECENTLY. "THEY SEE DIFFERENT, LOCALIZED AFRICAN PROBLEMS. WE SEE THE SOVIETS WITH A NAVAL BASE IN SOMALIA, A NAVAL BASE IN GUINEA AND CLOSING IN ON THE CAPE. FORTY PER CENT OF THE FREE WORLD'S OIL SUPPLY FOLLOWS THAT ROUTE."

22. ON THE OTHER HAND IS THE VIEW OF ONE OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S NEWER POLICY DIRECTORS:

23. "IF THE INDEPENDENT STATES OF BLACK AFRICA WANT

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TO CALL THEMSELVES MARXIST, THAT'S FINE. IT NEEDN'T MATTER THAT MUCH TO US, AS LONG AS THEY ARE NOT OPENLY HOSTILE. THE DAYS WHEN THE UNITED STATES

COULD INFLUENCE THE KIND OF GOVERNMENT A COUNTRY HAS
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OR DOES NOT HAVE ARE GONE FOREVER."

24. ONE OF THE EARLIEST POLICY REVIEWS OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION WAS DIRECTED TOWARD SOUTHERN AFRICA. THAT STUDY, KNOWN AS PRESIDENTIAL REVIEW MEMORANDUM 4, CALLS FOR AN ACTIVE U.S. POLICY TO PRESS THE WHITE REGIMES IN RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA TO YIELD POWER. IT REJECTS KISSINGER'S TENDENCY TO CAST THE POLICY IN A COLD WAR MOLD.

25. A SECOND STUDY, PRM 21, ON THE VOLATILE HORN OF EAST AFRICA, IS STILL IN THE WORKS. IN IT, STATE DEPARTMENT, PENTAGON AND WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS ARE SEEKING TO REDEFINE U.S. POLICY TOWARD ETHIOPIA, ONCE REGARDED AS THE OLDEST AND MOST RELIABLE FRIEND OF THE UNITED STATES IN EAST AFRICA BUT NOW AN INCREASINGLY HOSTILE OUTPOST OF SOVIET INFLUENCE.

26. A THIRD AREA OF POLICY REAPPRAISAL HAS BEEN IN THIS COUNTRY'S RELATIONSHIP WITH ZAIRE'S PRESIDENT MOBUTU SESE SEKO, ONCE DESCRIBED AS THE FORD ADMINISTRATION'S QUASI-ALLY IN THE ANGOLAN CONFLICT. REFLECTING THE NEW APPROACH TO AFRICA POLICY, WASHINGTON REACTED COOLLY TO MOBUTU'S REQUEST FOR AID AGAINST THE INVASION OF ZAIRE'S SHABE PROVINCE FROM ANGOLA. IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT HE WOULD GET NO WEAPONS FROM THE UNITED STATES.

27. IN ALL THREE AREAS THERE IS A RESIDUE OF DISSENT FROM OLD HANDS AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT, FROM THE PENTAGON AND FROM ELEMENTS OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.

28. THERE IS FEAR THAT A POLICY OF PRONATIONALIST ACTIVISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA COULD LEAD THE UNITED STATES INTO A SITUATION WHERE IT WOULD BE UNABLE TO
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RESPOND TO A SOVIET CHALLENGE.

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29. IN THE CASE OF THE HORN OF AFRICA, THE DISSENTERS HAD BEEN TRYING TO SLOW DOWN AN IMPULSE TO "PULL UP STAKES" IN ETHIOPIA AND LEAVE THAT INCREASINGLY UNSTABLE COUNTRY TO THE SOVIET SPHERE OF INFLUENCE. IN THIS CASE, THE REGIME IN ADDIS ABABA RESOLVED THE DILEMMA, EXPELLING SEVERAL HUNDRED AMERICAN OFFICIALS AND TECHNICIANS.

30. WITH REGARD TO ZAIRE, THE PENTAGON URGED AS A

MINIMUM A SUPPLY OF AMMUNITION FOR WEAPONS DELIVERED PREVIOUSLY, BUT IT WAS OVERRULED.

31. AS THE STATE DEPARTMENT POLICYMAKERS SEE IT, MOBUTU'S POOR HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD AND HIS DETERIORATING RELATIONSHIP WITH BLACK LEADERS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA LEAVE LITTLE PLACE FOR ZAIRE IN A POLICY BASED ON MORAL IMPERATIVES.

32. FAR DOWN THE ROAD, ASSUMING A PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE TRADITIONAL SOVIET APPROACH TO THIRD WORLD NATIONS WILL BEGIN TO WORK TO MOSCOW'S DISADVANTAGE, ANALYSTS BELIEVE.

33. IF POLITICAL STABILITY IS EVER ACHIEVED, THE NEEDS OF AFRICAN NATIONS WILL BE FOR THINGS ONLY THE WEST IS EQUIPPED TO DELIVER -- ECONOMIC AND DEVELOPMENT AID, TRADE OUTLETS AND THE TRANSFER OF INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL TECHNOLOGY.

34. PROPONENTS OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S POINT OF VIEW REPLY THAT THE ONLY EFFECTIVE WAY TO COUNTER SOVIET DIPLOMATIC THRUSTS IN AFRICA IS TO PLAY OUT THE GAME IN AFRICAN TERMS. END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS, TOSEC, POLICIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 10-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
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Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
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Drafter: REBUTLER:RE0
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
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From: STATE
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Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
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Message ID: efff4497-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN PA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
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Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2579240
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESS MATERIAL
TAGS: SOPN, OVIP, US, XA, LOS ANGELES TIMES, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (JOHNSTON, OSWALD)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/efff4497-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
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